4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

881 thought to have strong powers of good and evil. She was segregated in the menstrual hut, and her diet was restricted. An older woman relative instructed her in her duties as a woman and bade her work hard during her segregation so that she would be industrious all her life. Before the family rose each morning she fetched wood and water for them, but she could not enter the house or see or speak to her male relatives, lest she bring evil to them. During the day she worked diligently at basketry and talked with the women who came to visit her. She was ritually bathed in cold water on the fourth and eighth day, when her segregation was ended, and the celebration of her maturity began.

Every night for a month the girl was feasted by her family and other relatives. Special song cycles were sung, and the girl and her friends spent all night in a ritual dance. At the end of the month she went to a medicine man to be purified with sacred eagle feathers and a drink of magic white clay mixed with water. Sometimes she was given a new name which the medicine man had dreamed.

A girl's readiness for marriage is no longer celebrated with dance and feasting, but the purification ceremony is still very prevalent. This rite is necessary because the girl is in a condition dangerous not only to herself but to all her relatives; unless she is made clean, she may bring sickness and death to any of them. The story is told of a girl at boarding school who was not purified because there was no one to perform the rite; this was considered the cause of her uncle's death. Another child refused the ceremony; later her little brother was bitten by a rattlesnake, and to this day she is called "the girl who killed her brother." There are many such tales which emphasize the still prevailing belief in this rite. Decision to undergo the ritual is not a matter of personal taste. The girl is never forced to drink the white clay, but powerful pressure reminds her of her responsibility to the family.

582 583 In the old days the puberty rite was followed almost immediately by marriage. Now, as a rule, girls do not marry before they are at least sixteen, but they spend much time and thought in preparation for marriage. The adolescent girl learns to cook, launder, keep house, and care for children. She helps in the field with the bean harvest, husks, shells, and parches corn, and prepares the squash for drying. In summer she gathers saguaro fruit and learns to make jam and syrup. By the time she is eighteen she is quite capable of taking complete charge, should it be necessary. During adolescence she probably also learns how to weave baskets. This craft is useful in itself and often brings income which is regarded as the girl's own.

883 It is usually a girl's mother or grandmother who specifies her tasks and admonishes her. It is also these two who arrange to get her the new dresses or

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

ribbons she wants and relieve her of work occasionally, so that she may join her friends. However, the domestic labor which she shares with all the women of her household is continuous and confining, and there is little time left for village visiting. Their common effort and well-nigh exclusive companionship results in close bonds of affection between the women. 883 ●

A reputation for proficiency in the household arts helps the girl to make a good marriage. Even today, when marriages are no longer arranged on the basis of suitability to family needs, men look on industry (in the girl and her family) as an exceedingly valuable attribute, and it is a criterion in choosing a wife. 581

Papago girls are far from indifferent to their appearance. Dress and good looks occupy much of their time, thought, and conversation. Many dresses are bought in town, and these serve as models for homemade clothing. Girls wear low-heeled shoes, usually with ankle-length socks after the current fashion in the towns. Those in the western districts, who are nearer to white towns than the eastern girls, use cosmetics generously and wear a profusion of hair ribbons, pins, and other "store" ornaments. Baboquivari girls, though much more acculturated in other respects, are less inclined to imitate the fads of American and Mexican women, but they are not less interested in making a good appearance. 883 291 301

A girl spends most of her leisure time with other girls of her age in the village, usually her cousins. Because young people often live some distance apart and leisure hours may not coincide, the group is usually small. There is a persistent tendency for each girl to seek out one other for close companionship. Some girls make stable and lasting friendships; others shift from one intimate to another. Young girls do not ordinarily stray far from the house cluster, and they often loiter around the ramada where the women of the household are working; here they discuss the latest gossip, make jokes, or plan for some important event. They may entertain themselves with picture magazines, and sometimes they weave baskets together. 883 572

No one anticipates a fiesta with more pleasure than the teen-age girl. If the event takes place in her village, she joins the women in making paper flowers for the church and in preparing food for the guests. No girl goes to a fiesta by herself, and, if the celebration is in another village, she must be accompanied by one of the men of the family as well as by an older woman. Adolescent girls take no part in the religious phase of the celebration except perhaps to carry statues or candles in the procession. Dressed in their best, they sit together on the benches around the dance ground with the other women who wish to dance. 883 527

[Text continues on p. 153- Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.[1] He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-ten-year-old girls with young women of the households (see chap. ix).

883 The adolescent boy is always casual and friendly with the women of the household. When the men are at home, they join the women working under the ramada, and everyone participates in the chatter and joking that ensues. Though most of the time the youth is away from his female relatives, he often stops at the house cluster for a few minutes during the day, bringing the women news of their men and any local gossip he has picked up. He occasionally lifts a heavy article for them or is helpful in some other way but is no longer expected to make himself generally useful around the house.

Outside the household the teen-age boy's most intimate associates are lads of his own age, but he is not limited to boys of his own village, for in herding or at the intervillage roundups he always meets and works with youths from other communities. It is not difficult to maintain these friendships, as a boy can usually catch a ride to another village or go on his own horse.

883 533 Many Papago boys of this age learn to play musical instruments, usually the violin or guitar. They play entirely by ear, learning the Mexican and American dance tunes from phonograph records. Two or three lads may spend many hours practicing together; the others always enjoy listening. Rarely does a boy under eighteen become proficient enough to play in the orchestra at a fiesta, except as a drummer, but, if he is an unusually good musician, he may replace a violinist or guitarist while the older man rests or eats.

883 527 292 Fiestas are great occasions for adolescent boys. They help to clean and decorate the dance ground and feast house. They keep the fires going and spread hot coals near the women's benches. For the celebration they dress in colorful cowboy clothes: freshly polished high-heeled boots, wide-brimmed hats, new jeans, bright silk shirts, and often leather belts or wristguards studded with colored glass.

882 527 273 The boys take no part in the religious phase of the fiesta, nor do they enter the church for rest as the girls of their age do. As they are too young to associate freely with men, but yet feel themselves much too grown up to stay with the women or play with small boys, the lads usually stand about the big fires and sometimes loiter around the parked cars where the bootleggers do business. It is not uncommon for boys as young as sixteen to have whiskey at a fiesta, but ordinarily they do much less drinking than the men. Some of the boys cannot afford expensive bootleg whiskey, and others are still under the influence of their mothers and grandmothers, who dread heavy drinking.

[276] At any rate, few teen-age boys are involved in drunken fighting. Boys smoke openly and without fear of reprimand as soon as they have money for cigarettes.

883 The boys do not dance so constantly as the girls of their age, for they never

[Text continues on p. 156-Analyst]

883 The boys do not dance as constantly as the girls of their age, for they never
535 dance with each other. If a lad is interested in a particular girl, he will ask her to dance oftener than the others, but he generally chooses many different partners during the night.

ADOLESCENTS AT SCHOOL

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872 Papago children begin to drop out of Reservation schools at about thirteen, and few youths remain after they are fifteen. (The decrease in day-school attendance is partially offset by the increase in off-Reservation boarding-school enrolments from this group.) Few families except some in the eastern villages exert pressure on the young people to stay in school. Those who remain do so because they really want to, and their attendance is quite regular except when their help is especially needed at home on account of harvest, roundup, or illness. A few students (probably about the same proportion as in most white groups) remain at school because they are genuinely interested in learning; these are the boys and girls who attempt to use English outside the classroom and keep extra books in their desks for use in spare time, but the great majority come to school to be with friends from other villages or to escape the routine of work at home.

In the average government school teen-age boys and girls are placed together in one classroom. Since the group may include mere beginners as well as youngsters who can meet the standards of upper elementary grades in white schools, division within the room is on the basis of academic attainment. Instruction in the tool subjects is carried on much as in the younger group. Some adolescent youngsters can use a sixth-grade reader, a fourth-grade arithmetic, and a fourth- or fifth-grade spelling book. In most schools the children learn to carry on at least a simple conversation in English (the case depending upon the amount of contact with whites and the aptitude of the students); but they almost always remain shy in their attempts to converse with white people.

In addition to the tool subjects, two of the larger government schools give manual training to the boys and teach cooking and sewing to the girls. A few others keep beehives or chickens for boys to tend. In nearly every school the girls set the tables for lunch, help serve the food, clear tables, and dry dishes, all under the supervision of the Papago cook. Instruction in the mission schools is limited mainly to academic and religious subjects.

Some government schools have athletic teams, but playground sports are largely unorganized; adolescent boys throw and bounce a basketball or occasionally have a game of marbles, but they rarely use the playground equipment or scuffle together as the small boys do. No marked leadership is apparent, and boys of the same village do not group together as they did when

younger. Those who are musicians often bring their instruments to school; other lads join them in the desert away from the schoolhouse, where they sometimes practice for hours before an enthusiastic audience. Boys may gather around the bus-driver or teacher and spend the recreational hour watching the former repair a bus or pump. (The Papago are interested in machines and make good mechanics, but the schools offer no course in machine operation or maintenance, probably because too few older boys attend day school.)

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Teen-age girls at school tend to pair off as they do at home. Two friends sit together on the school bus, ask to do kitchen duties at the same time, and spend their free time walking arm in arm about the playground or using the swings and teeter-totters, which they greatly enjoy. During recreation hours they do not spend as much time as the little girls with the teacher or Papago cook. Hickiwan girls may often be seen at noon primping before the mirror, recombing their hair or renewing makeup. Nearly all the girls try to present a nice appearance; they wear good dresses to school and groom themselves to the best of their ability.

Adolescents are much less spontaneous and friendly with the teacher than younger children. The boys respond rather freely to the male teachers at the Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools and occasionally talk with them about the war and the difficulties of staying in school when there is work to be done at home. Girls giggle in the presence of men teachers and never start a conversation. Neither boys nor girls are afraid of them, nor are they particularly concerned about their reactions to badly prepared lessons. Older students often try various tricks to get out of assignments and regard it as a huge joke if they are caught in the evasion. In the eastern districts the Papago parents' higher regard for schooling is reflected in their children's more serious attitude toward teachers and lessons.

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With the women teachers at Hickiwan or Gu Vo the older boys are respectful and reserved. They readily perform any task she asks of them and answer her questions courteously, but they seldom start conversations with her. The girls are painfully shy and giggle in the teacher's presence at first, but they overcome their timidity enough to linger in the schoolroom occasionally and join in conversations and to refrain from dodging when the teacher touches them. Even so, they never attain the little girl's freedom with her. If something she says amuses them, they respond not to her but to one another; their appreciative glances and smiles are directed toward the other girls and do not include the teacher.

Teaching methods and inter-Papago relationships at Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools, described here, are similar to those of the other government schools.

[Text continues on p. 159-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

However, at all the missions, and at government schools in areas where education is more enthusiastically fostered by the Papago, discipline is much more strict and academic standards are higher. Furthermore, student-teacher relationships vary; when they see the teacher very frequently, children react to his or her personality rather than to the "white teacher" role.

In the western districts few children go beyond the elementary work offered by Reservation schools; most of them have been in school too short a time to begin to think of high school. Some eastern children, particularly those from Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts, leave the Reservation for upper grades or high school in government or religious boarding schools and there are always a few in college or trade school. Usually only good students are encouraged to continue in school. Priests and teaching sisters select the students for Catholic boarding schools. In Presbyterian families parents often stimulate their children's interest in further education. Students at government schools are encouraged to continue by their teachers, families, or perhaps by a social worker who sees in an off-Reservation school the solution of difficulties at home.

Going to boarding school is usually the Papago's first experience at living away from the Reservation for any length of time without relatives. However, at any school to which he goes there will be other Papago children. For a while they are homesick and talk constantly of Papaguería, but before long most of them recover their good spirits and, after their first vacation at home, are ready to go back to school.

At boarding school boys and girls receive vocational as well as academic instruction. Some are selected for athletic teams, play against other schools, and even get their names in the sports section of white papers. They take part in school plays. They learn their way about big towns and, though under strict supervision, are rather thoroughly exposed to American ways of life. However, few Papago have this experience; in 1941–42 only 154 were enrolled in boarding schools.

THE YOUTH'S WORLD GROWS

During adolescence young Papago associate increasingly with adult relatives from their own and other villages. Girls regularly join the groups of women from different households who work together at laundering or sewing; boys work with men's groups at butchering or repairing fences. In accordance with the seniority principle, they accept direction and occasional correction from their elders and share the friendly affection Papago have for all relatives. If a boy or girl is particularly fond of any one adult, the intimacy arises entirely from personal choice.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 494 As previously mentioned, boys are free to go to other villages when their help is not needed at home. Girls' trips to school on the bus are exceptions to the rule of constant female chaperonage. Sometimes school children get off the bus in another village to visit overnight in the home of relatives; mothers occasionally complain that their daughters stop in other villages rather than come home to help with the work. However, there is no worry concerning their safety, for the bus-driver brings word of their whereabouts, and they are assured a welcome in the home of any relative. Adolescents not in school use the bus to reach relatives in time of sickness, to help with the harvest, or just to visit.

883 756 A young Papago rarely loses his faith in the medicine man, though it may be dormant during any time he spends in boarding school. However, the adolescents begin to realize that there are some sicknesses with which the white doctor can cope more adequately than the medicine man. But the youth makes an ill-defined distinction between white men's diseases and Indian diseases, and he sometimes asks why animals do not seem to make white people sick. So he is often confused as to what to do when illness strikes and perhaps tries several courses to be on the safe side: he may take medicine prescribed by the white nurse in the morning, ask for a half-native rosary service in the afternoon, and have the medicine men in to sing and communicate with the spirits at night.

883 430 5[illegible] 571 On the Reservation the Papago youth has little more contact with whites than he did as a youngster. Tourists have never swarmed to Papago villages as they do to the pueblos, for the Desert People are not romantic in appearance, and their principal extant ceremonies are not open to public view.[2] Buyers of cattle and baskets come, but they do not stay long. Older boys, who often herd the stock while their elders deal with cattle-buyers, have little to do with the buyers, but they learn what prices to expect and how to bargain.

88[illegible] 56[illegible] 571 Whites who live on the Reservation—traders, occasional miners, a few missionaries, and government employees—are familiar figures to the youth of districts in which they live or visit often. Adolescents' contacts with these persons are almost entirely impersonal, and few youths make any effort to change this situation. Some exceptional adolescents will talk readily with whites and are willing to act as interpreters, but in both eastern and western districts teen-age boys and girls are likely to face whites with a rather blank expression and would prefer to watch them unseen. When addressed by a strange white, the young Papago usually replies with "Yes," "No," or "I don't know." Often the brevity of the answer is due as much to difficulty of understanding or fear

2. However, many tourists come to see the old mission on San Xavier Reservation.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

of making a ridiculous reply as it is to reserve. The youth will explain to another Papago that he knew what the white was saying, but, unsure of his ability to answer in good English, he just kept quiet.

As a rule, resident whites treat the Indians with friendliness strongly tinged with caution.[3] They respect the Papago and perhaps like certain individuals, but they know that Indians are sensitive in ways unpredictable to whites. The Papago largely reciprocate these attitudes. With rare exceptions, neither group seeks association with the other outside of business hours. The Indians admit that the white man has a peculiar magic which results in economic wealth. and this they frankly covet. But few would care to live with whites or even in their manner. To them, the Desert People remain "the people."

All teen-age Papago make more frequent trips off the Reservation than do their younger brothers and sisters. Boys go whenever they can be spared at home and can find means of transportation; girls are equally interested but must wait on the convenience of some man of the family. A young person of a western district probably has at least one relative who works in the mine at Ajo and lives there with his family; visits to these relatives are great occasions. The relatives in town live in frame houses or in shacks pieced together out of scrap iron, but even the poorest dwellings are likely to have more furnishings than western Reservation homes. Curtains, bedspreads, and tablecloths are in ordinary use, and all cooking is done indoors. With more leisure and cash, town dwellers go to the movies and buy store food, good clothes, and bootleg liquor. These are momentous matters for the Reservation youngsters, and they are quick to imitate their town kinfolk. Girls readily adopt the town styles of dress, but boys can always be recognized as Reservation Indians by their Stetson hats, Levis, and cowboy boots. Clothing, amusements, and the easier living are powerful incentives for young Papago to go and do likewise, i.e., get a job in town.

A great many youth have been accustomed from childhood to going with their families to work in the cotton fields, but late adolescence bring opportunities for work away from home. Older girls who have more than a smattering of English can get jobs as housemaids in Tucson or Phoenix, and many young girls look forward to this opportunity to live independently for a little while before marriage. A wider variety of work is open to boys. With the increased demand for labor during the war, some Baboquivari lads of sixteen to eighteen left the Reservation for several weeks or months to work on railroads or ranches. Since the Papago are known as good workers, they can

3. This paragraph is drawn largely from Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation in the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 464 [465] always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in wartime wages ran as high as $7.00.

893 466 563 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers. but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 593 273 [548] Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 671 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 582 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take jobs. By and large, however. they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 [786] Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working.

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated.

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking.

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage.

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Planting among both peoples was a family enterprise done chiefly by the man, assisted by the older children; the wife might help if she were not otherwise engaged. Often this was handled reciprocally, families helping each other, a practice rarely followed today. Díaz[19] stated that the Pima planted in common. He doubtless meant that fields were worked in common under a coöperative plan, not that fields were communally owned.

Aboriginally all crops were planted in hills, never in rows or broadcast. The planter stood in a somewhat stooped position to make holes for the seeds, thrusting the stick forcefully into the moist earth one or more times, depending upon the condition of the ground, and each time pried and jiggled with the stick to loosen the dirt. The surface soil at each hill was never scraped off before digging the hole, as was done regularly by some tribes. Hills were about six inches in diameter and into the center of each he next thrust the stick perpendicularly, turning it in a wide circle to provide a hole for inserting seed. Holes for maize were four to six inches deep regardless of the type of soil, and this same depth was used for several crops. There was no deliberate attempt to loosen soil in the hill to a depth greater than necessary for planting the seeds. When planting corn, the planter, if right handed, next took one step with his left foot and made another hill just like the first at the end of his foot, making the hills about thirty inches apart. After thus digging a number of holes the planter stopped to put in the seeds, which he carried in a leather or woven cloth sack tied around the waist, meanwhile carrying the planting stick in the other hand. Some individuals dug and planted one hole at a time. In any case only a few holes were dug at a time as they dried out quickly. When two persons worked together, one dug the hills, the other dropped and covered the seeds. The planter stooped to about a foot from the ground to drop the seed, making no effort to arrange them in the hole, and im-

[19] *Ibid.*